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think them to be so from all I have as yet known or seen in Africa. I am sure my candour, the best earnest of the fidelity of a public servant, will not injure those claims for an appointment, which do not rest upon the suggestion of a system, but on the execution of a hazardous enterprise into the interior of Africa, upon the personal discovery of the road for the introduction of commerce and civilization.

No man can be more anxious than I am to see that religion, whose author was the type of peace and benevolence, supersede a barbarous paganism, or a faith imagined by a man who established it by war and licentiousness, by the destruction and corruption of his fellow-creatures : but I must conscientiously contend, not from predilection, but from experience and observation, that to begin civilization by religious conversion, at least in Africa, is to begin at the wrong end.

Neither the Africans of the coast or of the interior are fools, and the latter, almost unacquainted with Europeans, have not yet learned to be hypocrites ; so that there is this consolation, although it may at first be felt as a disappointment by more impatient zeal, that however long it may be before they receive the Christian religion, they will not receive it

before they feel and understand its superior excellence. The negroes of the coast, who have seen and participated in so many changes of commerce, would perhaps receive the first Missionaries as they would a new kind of trader, and get all they could out of them by the subtlest exercise of that hypocrisy and art which European slave traders first taught them, but in the refinement of which they now excel their old masters. When one of their own countrymen was taken out of a canoe, sent to England for education, and brought back after some years to preach to them, they ceased to hear him from the moment it was thought proper to cease handing round the rum, which was first done in order to bring them together; for then, to use their own expression, it became "a dry palaver." How then is the civilization of these unhappy people to be effected? A dispassionate observation of the negro character points out the only way.

Speak to the Negro of an inland village, who has never lived on the coast as a trader, a gold taker, a broker, or as the servant of an European, but who has only visited it now and then to be defrauded (of part of the price of his ivory, or part of the quantity of goods he unsuspectingly receives in exchange), by his polished

countrymen; speak to this man, who has no interest in deceiving you, of the happiness of that future state to which the exchange of his faith for yours will conduct him; and he naturally and impatiently asks if you have seen it; or, at least, if your father or mother, who are there, have been permitted to assure you of its existence. All that you can say of inspired books, of holy and virtuous men, will make no impression after you have once answered this first grand question in the negative. He tells you, that as it rests only on the promises of extraordinary men, for this is all he will comprehend, his Fetish man or priest, who is more wonderful and powerful than any man he knows, also promises him the most blissful future state he can conceive, a torpid life of indolence, free from labour, sense, or suffering.

Mark the crumbling dirty cabin of this Negro subject (whose chief would tell you that his Fetish man has promised him that a portion of his women and slaves will accompany him to administer to his pleasures in the next world), so fragile, that the torrents of equinoctial rains almost beat it about his ears; mark his hungry diseased children, his wife with scarcely covering enough even for African decency, the jungle or bush about his cabin in the undis-

turbed possession of the beasts and reptiles he most dreads. Tell him you can teach him to build a house as dry and as strong as that of the white man at Cape Coast; that you can teach him to make cloth as good if not better than that of the Ashantees; that you can teach him to grow corn enough in the rich soil about his dwelling for himself and his family to eat plentifully, perhaps enough to sell some to his neighbour or the vessels at Cape Coast; he will reply in the simplicity of his language and his heart, that "it is a lie! no black man can be taught to do that in this country! no, not even the Fetish man could make such a change." This confession is all you want; send two or three of those men who are called Company's slaves, or a few of those unhappy offenders who, before the present Governor rescued them for useful labour, rotted in the damp sea-beaten slave hole of the castle; give them spades (which are known to produce more than ploughs in such small tracts); send two or three of the idle Negro dependents whom the present Governor compelled to learn to make bricks; if you have no European who can do so, hire an Ashantee, or some other interior native, to teach him to weave; in a few months the metamorphosis will be effected; he will contem-

plate it as an enchantment, and he will exclaim, " Master, I beg pardon for saying that you lie ; but no black man ever saw such a thing before, therefore master must forgive me ; and as master *makes me see* that he can do more than the Fetish man, now I know that master's God must pass my Fetish, the same as master passes my Fetish man : so I beg pardon for not taking master's Fetish before, but now I hope master will let me take and keep it properly, all the same as a white man."

I give native expressions, because I am sure they would be exactly what we should hear if we afforded some such good reason for their utterance. The Negro fears and venerates his Fetish as we do our God ; there is but one great difference—he has never found reason to *love* his Deity—but he feels his life and his fate to be in the power of the Fetish and his priests. Can we expect this man to be so wanting in common sense, to trust himself to our bare word in the most awful speculation of mortality, to quit the Fetish men who cajole and intimidate him, who persuade him by their monk-like mummery and trick that he has miracles and not words in evidence of the truth of the faith he inherited from the parents who cherished him? can we expect this Negro to

work a revolution within himself by his faith in the word of a stranger? If this could be, the African would indeed, as some physiologists have absurdly concluded, be too wanting in intellect for any thing good to be made of him : but as this cannot be, be assured that in proportion as he doubts our testimonials as religious converters, and is convinced only by our demonstrations as civilizers, so in proportion will he hold the true faith the firmer after we have thus prepared him for it; perhaps, I think I may venture to say so, after we have thus taught him to ask for it of himself, as the one thing wanting. Would any Englishman in his senses speculate irretrievably in the funds (against the advice of his broker), at the instance of a stranger, who produces no vouchers in evidence of his foresight and judgment? No; he would first see something like a result of this stranger's advice, and then, if it were persuasive, listen to him with attention.

When it is recollected that I was the first who *unmasked* the pernicious system of a trading Government,* I cannot be supposed to

* “ Si l'on veut connaître quel a été le prix des services
 “ éminens qu'a rendus ce jeune et habile voyageur, il
 “ faut lire une brochure intitulée *The African Com-*

err from prejudice or self-interest when I talk of contributing to the civilization of Africa by that legitimate commerce which encourages free industry. The first character in our country is the liberal merchant, and he is an indispensable ally in the civilization of Africa; but the Government must support him until he has learned what he can get in exchange for his ventures of British manufactures. And how is the Government to support him? Why simply by lowering the duties on ivory, palm oil, dye wood, skins, or whatever articles African industry may have hitherto produced or may hereafter produce (which is not a little), until they are at least on a level with the American duties and those of other nations. It would make no difference to the Finance, and it would eventually make a considerable difference to commerce and civilization, if instead of voting 50000*l.* for a third settlement on the Gold Coast, 50000*l.* were deducted from the present duties on African produce.

A great deal has been said of the improbability of getting any thing but gold and ivory

“ *mittee*, London, Longman, in-8^o, 1819. C’est d’ailleurs
 “ un supplément utile et nécessaire à la relation de l’auteur, et ce n’en est pas la partie la moins curieuse.”—
Walckenaer’s Itineraries to Timbuctoo.

as a return from Africa. I submit two facts in reply. The palm oil trade at Calabar did not exist in the time of the Slave Trade; it was created and necessitated by the abolition. It was felt to be very laborious by the natives at first, in comparison with the indolence of the Slave Trade; but no easier commerce could be devised, for it was the only natural product which immediately stared them in the face. This trade grew under the care of a few persevering Liverpool merchants, and from eight to ten large vessels, averaging 300 tons, are now annually laden with palm oil in the Calabar River.

Before Mr. Hope Smith's government, the natives of the Gold Coast scarcely grew corn enough for their own consumption; famines sometimes resulted from the Ashantee invasions, but as often from their own indolence, never from the unkindness of nature, who has perhaps been too prodigal of her bounties for the rapid increase of African industry. The natives were persuaded and excited to grow largely in the neighbourhood of Succondee and Accra, and within the last two years, I am positively informed by a commercial resident, at least fourteen vessels have been laden exclusively with corn, for Madeira and the West Indies. Several

cargoes had been exported during the short period of Mr. Hope Smith's government which preceded my departure from Africa.

The people of Calabar are now peaceable, mannerly, and hospitable, compared to what they were in the time of the Slave Trade; industry has worked off the moral virus of this traffic, and like the people of Gaboon, whose forests of dye wood and ebony never felt the axe before the abolition, they are much more to be believed and respected than the Negroes of our settlements.*

* The Americans can afford to give half a dollar currency for ~~two~~^{one} gallon of palm oil, whilst the English can only give 2s. trade for the same quantity. I believe palm oil, ivory, skins, and all African produce is only subject to an *ad valorem* duty in America. Palm oil is used by the soap makers in England when tallow is above a certain price, and also for anointing sheep after shearing. Jaqua Jaqua is the greatest mart for palm oil, westward of Cape Coast, and Calabar eastward.

The Americans buy up tiger, deer, and monkey skins in large quantities on the coast: the English duty on these articles amounts to a prohibition.

It is the same with the Bird and Malaguetta peppers, which are subject to a duty of 2s. and 2s. 6d. per lb., I believe from the apprehension of their being used in distilleries.

Domestic slavery, having existed immemorially in the interior of Africa, is not likely to

Indigo grows spontaneously in Guinea. The natives of Popo prepare and sell it in their markets in cakes like our stone blue. Mr. Hamilton, when Governor of Tantom, created a large indigo plantation there, which promised to be very profitable at the time of his death. Indigo is known to require an equal climate for its successful culture, more than any other plant, and that the climate of the coast, however objectionable in other respects, must be allowed to be. Perhaps the African species may not be infected with the same destructive insect which so constantly attacks the others.

Governor Schionning's coffee plantation was in a very flourishing state when destroyed by the Ashantees.

Rice is to be bought in the proper season, October, at Garraway's (in the neighbourhood of Cape Palmas), at about 5*l*. per ton. I believe it is always worth 13*l*. a ton at Sierra Leone, and I recollect to have heard that a cargo sent from the Coast to the West Indies, arriving soon after the hurricanes, fetched 40*l*. a ton. Rice is also grown in quantities in the interior, on the banks of the Adiree or Volta.

The Gold Coast could furnish the same timber, which has been shipped with so much advantage from Sierra Leone to his Majesty's dock-yards.

To close this limited list, to which bees-wax, seven or eight varieties of gums, annatto, and many more articles might be added, the vegetable butter which I brought

be abolished, even when the traffic has *ceased* with Europeans: but the system of kidnapping and predatory warfare has certainly been much corrected already by the diminished vent. Civilization can alone enfranchise the domesticated slaves, whose lot, indeed, is enviable compared with that of the mass of the free population in Ashantee. The first great change

from Africa (of the natural order Sapotæ), has lately been analysed by M. Chevreuil, so well known by his experiments on animal and vegetable grease, with extreme interest; and he assures me that it might be made of important use in the arts, and especially in soap making. I shall submit the interesting results of his analysis and examination directly they have been repeated on a larger scale. It is brought in large quantities to Ashantee, where it is used in cooking and as a cosmetic. In Gaboon, where it may be eaten freshly expressed from the nut with as much relish as our fresh butter, it grows very abundantly. Perhaps the chocolate grease of the same country may be found to have its use.—See *the Mission to Ashantee*, and *Essay on the Geography of North-Western Africa*, 1821, for an account of the gold pits of Ahanta, and the views of the Dutch thereon.

Before the abolition, gold dust was frequently brought out from England, for it had become impossible, from the competition, to get more than the cost price for the expensive chintzes which the natives insisted on as one of the articles in the trade assortment; whereas gold dust,

which we must expect to see in African policy, as a happy consequence of the abolition, is

which they cheerfully received instead, could be bought for 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* per ounce, or thereabouts, in London, and was always worth 4*l.* currency on the coast. During the latter part of the last war, before the Dutch resumed the trade of their settlements, from 25 to 30,000 ounces of gold dust were remitted to England, annually, from this part of Africa.

An injury, which it will require much time and patience to repair, has been entailed on the trade of the Gold Coast, by the Committee paying their officers in goods, for the majority (and the service was on an average composed of fifty) were compelled to sacrifice these goods to the natives (who knew very well how to take advantage of their necessities) at almost any rate, in order to purchase provisions, and to supply themselves with the requisites of life; so that Manchester and other goods were sold for less than prime cost, to the great injury of the free traders and those who were not thus necessitated to retail from hand to mouth. The establishment of a fortified market on one of the islands about 100 miles up the Volta (which is navigated to about 150 miles by the salt carriers), would open a new and vast source of commerce, unshackled by the brokerage and impositions of the people of the water-side, and lead to a direct intercourse with the commercial kingdom of Dagwunaba, the grand resort of the caravans from Houssa, Cassina, and Bornoo, and celebrated as an emporium even on the banks of the Mediterranean.

the identifying of those diminished importations of slaves (which will remain on hand in the interior kingdoms) with the lowest class of the free population, in the rights of protection: and this will, I am sure, be gradually done, in proportion as the number increases, and invites or rather demands the more serious consideration of their apprehensive rulers; for the first law, bearing at all upon their condition, was promulgated in 1818, during our residence in Croomassie: “ All persons sent on the
 “ King’s business shall no longer seize provisions in any country, whether tributary or
 “ otherwise, in his name; but, requiring food,
 “ shall offer a fair price for the first they meet
 “ with; if this is refused, they shall then
 “ demand one meal, and one meal only, in
 “ the King’s name, and proceed. This extends to all messengers sent by the head
 “ captains, whose servants, as well as the
 “ King’s, have been long in the habit of extorting goods from traders, and tobacco and
 “ provisions in the market-place, in the names
 “ of their masters, which they shall do no
 “ longer without incurring the same penalty
 “ which is attached to the former part of the
 “ law, 110 periguins.”—*Mission to Ashantee*, p. 225.

This law was particularly consolatory and beneficial to those slaves, who, to prevent famine and insurrection, had been selected (from that fettered multitude which could no longer be driven off to the coast directly they arrived at the capital), to create plantations in the more remote and stubborn tracts; from which their labour was first to produce a proportionate supply to the household of their Chief, and afterwards an existence for themselves: of the greater part of the necessaries for the latter, they had been pilfered in common with the poorest class of Ashantees, (nominally but not virtually free), under various pretences, either in their distant plantations or on their arrival at the markets, by the public servants of the King and the Chiefs. This law protected them effectually; but, probably, had not that body, whose whispered remonstrances induced it, been made more formidable by the incorporation of a part of that surplus of foreign slaves the abolition had created, so arbitrary a government would never have accorded it.

These are the important changes we must first hope for, as the most beneficial to humanity; and with these, gradual as they may be, we must for some years be content. The foreign slaves will naturally find advocates in those of

their brethren, which are not a few, who from talent, devotedness, or policy have become confidential favorites of the Kings and the Chiefs, who reckon on them as a protection against any sudden gust of sedition amongst their impatient subjects. This influence, and the necessity and apprehension an *entire and strict abolition* would impose on the Negro Governments, might effect the most salutary revolutions in their policy: for although the Moorish dignitaries are not yet so omnipotent as to abolish human sacrifices, yet they are certainly powerful enough, from the superstitious veneration they have excited, to prevent their becoming more frequent or more extensive on this or any other state emergency. This is another reason why conversion must be temperately and cautiously pursued, as the consequence, and not as the fore-runner of a partial civilization; we must not quarrel with the Moors, if we quarrel with them at all, before we have convinced the Negroes; humanity as well as policy forbids it; and if we do, we shall be shut out altogether. Residents must precede Missionaries. We must first penetrate to the interior countries, and endeavour to civilize them by originating a legitimate commerce with the coast, by introducing arts and

comforts: conversion must follow these wholesome preparatives.

The glory of discovery is preferable to the glory of conquest: its triumphs are rational and illustrious, for the gratification and the benefit are shared by all, and such successes cease to be invidious, even between rival nations, when they have the interests of humanity and science mutually at heart. The world expects the discovery of the interior of Africa from Great Britain, and it would be an everlasting disgrace, if, with such Settlements in our hands,* we were to allow another nation to

* The malady which attacks Europeans soon after their arrival on the coast, is a bilious remittent fever; no epidemic fever has as yet been known to visit it. As far as I can judge from observation and result, without the least professional knowledge on the subject, those who have recovered have invariably owed their life to being treated by medical officers, who, in opposition to the usual practice, resolutely avoided all other than local bleeding, and that merely to alleviate the intense head-ache; preferring to reduce the system, already very much lowered by a residence in Africa, by calomel and aperient medicines; and watching like nurses for the remissions, in order to administer moderate proportions of bark during all these intervals. Having witnessed the invariable success of this simple treatment, I should proceed with confidence, without a medical companion, to

anticipate us in this duty. We are bound to do something to redeem the years of neglect and abuse which have been entailed upon our Settlements by the grovelling administration of a Company, created for the Slave Trade, pursuing the same system of government before and after the abolition, epochs as irreconcilable as the Norman Conquest and the Revolution, and *always* criminally indifferent to the interests of British Commerce.*

Without an increase of that grant which has hitherto been unproductive of every thing but human misery, we might open a source of wealth to Great Britain, and ensure a glory

any part of the coast or interior of Guinea, merely with a few calomel pills mixed with cathartic extract, and a little bark in my pocket; for the local bleeding is very skilfully performed by the natives.

* The reports of the "proceedings in the House of Commons on the state of the African Company, and of the trade to Africa," inform us that proofs were given, *etc. etc.* This fact of the toleration of Americans was brought forward "to prove the injury the forts and governors were to the trade to Africa;" it being also in evidence that the "governors were all traders on their own account, or factors for principals in England, and endeavoured to forestall the market." Walsh, *Negro Slavery and Slave Trade*.

which would be consecrated in the records of benevolence and the fasti of science ; ‘ a glory which would survive, with unfaded bloom, when the trophy of the conqueror has perished in the dust ; when the sumptuous tomb of the inglorious Monarch, whose reign has been productive of no great act for the benefit of mankind, moulders in a desert.’*

I am informed that Mr. Dupuis, who merely visited his post at Ashantee, tore up my treaty in the presence of the King, as that of an incompetent envoy. If Mr. Dupuis was prompted to do this as a personal insult to myself, or if he did it from ignorance or inexperience, I am sure those who appointed him will be the first to reprove such conduct as highly impolitic and unwarrantable, and as fatally injurious to the dignity of the British character in the eyes of Africans. I appeal to my Government and to my country, and I claim the declaration, as a first tribute to my services, that Mr. Dupuis was only authorized to enlarge or improve the

* Gesner.

treaty I had made, and not to denounce me as an impostor in the face of the Monarch whose wrath and suspicions I first encountered. Notwithstanding all that has been invented to my prejudice and Mr. Dupuis' credit, I have made no comment on this gentleman's conduct, allowing the 'Mission to Ashantee' and my Pamphlet on the African Committee to speak for me, and waiting for Mr. Dupuis' publication, in evidence of those superior qualifications in science and diplomacy which were said to warrant his appointment at the expense of my unrecompensed risk and services. As this gentleman has now been home six months without publishing, I presume he has nothing to add to our scanty stock of African knowledge ; and I am contented to ask the following questions, which, if I am rightly informed by those who were on the spot, must be answered in the affirmative.

Did not Mr. Dupuis linger twelve months at Cape Coast of his own free will, in spite of the remonstrances of the Governor and Council, and the mortifying insinuations of the natives, and not from " the mischiefs resulting from " the thoughtless conduct of Mr. Bowdich and " his young companions," as has been asserted and published ?

Did not one of the obnoxious articles of Mr. Dupuis' treaty transfer the Fantee people as a property to the king of Ashantee ?

Did not the Governor and Council, in their indignation at this outrage on humanity, declare to the Ashantee envoy, commissioned to return to Cape Coast with Mr. Dupuis, that this gentleman had misled the king, by asserting that his powers were independent of all control from them ; that such a treaty would never be recognised or ratified by them ; and that if the king did not continue to abide by the former, they would protect the Fantees from massacre, slavery, or oppression, to the utmost of their power ?

Did not the free traders of Cape Coast, on Mr. Dupuis' subsequently addressing a public letter to them, to sign an approval of his conduct, refuse to do so, alleging that they were rather prepared to address a condemnation to the government of a treaty which transferred so many thousand human beings to slavery ; and that they should continue to view the original treaty as the only legitimate one ?

Did not the natives express their astonishment and horror at such conduct on the part of a British envoy, and impress their determination to resist the enforcement of the treaty to their

utmost, although the king of Ashantee might visit them with destruction?

Did not Mr. Dupuis quit his post, and return to England without the authority of the British government?

Could I as an Englishman have brought myself to sacrifice the Fantees to this overwhelming monarch, offenders as they *then* were, I might have made my treaty in as short a time. It occupied me some months, because the following articles, expunged for Mr. Dupuis' transfer, were insisted on by me as a *sine qua non*, and sworn to in spite of every intrigue, threat, and opposition.

“ The same (peace and harmony) shall exist
“ between the subjects of the kings of Ashantee
“ and Dwaben and all nations of Africa residing
“ under the protection of the Company's forts
“ and settlements on the Gold Coast; and it is
“ hereby agreed, that there are no palavers
“ now existing, and that neither party has
“ any claim upon the other.”

“ The king of Ashantee guarantees the security of the people of Cape Coast from the
“ hostilities threatened by the people of Elmina.”

“ In order to avert the horrors of war, it
“ is agreed, that in case of aggression on the

“ part of the natives under British protec-
 “ tion, the kings shall complain thereof to the
 “ Governor in chief to obtain redress, and that
 “ they will in no instance resort to hostilities,
 “ even against the other towns of the Fantee
 “ territory, without endeavouring as much as
 “ possible to effect an amicable arrangement,
 “ affording the Governor the opportunity of
 “ propitiating it, as far as he may with dis-
 “ cretion.”

The tearing up of such a treaty as this, will
 not injure my dignity as an Englishman in the
 eyes of the Ashantees, *after* they have had more
 intercourse with civilized nations; and surely I
 may expect to meet with more respect from the
 people of the coast, even should I visit them
 only as a private individual; than Mr Dupuis,
 even if he returns with still more command-
 ing authority. May I not hope that Mr. Dupuis’
 treaty and the correspondence thereon will be
 submitted by the government, whenever the
 reorganization of the British settlements on the
 Gold Coast may be discussed?

AN ENQUIRY
INTO THE
FRENCH,
AND A VINDICATION OF THE
BRITISH
EXPEDITION TO TEEMBO.

ALTHOUGH the failure of M. Mollien's expedition in the principal object, has made it convenient to suppress its history in his work, yet it is well known in Paris, that it was concerted by the Government at the same moment as that of Ali Bey; the project being for the two travellers to meet at Timbuctoo, Ali Bey starting from Cairo and M. Mollien from the Senegal, there to assist and co-operate with each other.*

* See Appendix.

The first notice of the return of M. Mollien proclaimed his having been within a few miles of Timbuctoo; it appears, however, by his own account, that his ultimate point was Teembo (visited in 1795 by Watts and Winterbottom), although he arrived at it by a circuitous route, which has of course produced new information, and been attended, as he believes, by the discovery of the sources of the Senegal, Gambia, Faleme, and Rio Grande rivers.

When the sources of rivers are so nearly determined before hand as those of the Senegal and Gambia were, by the sagacity and opportunities of Park and the patient and judicious investigations of Major Rennel, a mere glimpse of other sources which contradict every previous evidence, without verifying the bare assertion of an individual native by tracing the rivers thereto, and without fixing these newly pretended sources by astronomical observations, adds little or nothing to geography; and whilst it claims our tribute to the courage and zeal of M. Mollien, excites our regret that these physical qualities were not enhanced by that intelligence and acquirement, which made them so valuable and productive in Park.

To determine precisely the discoveries of M. Mollien, it is necessary to examine what parts of his track have been traced by previous travellers, which requires a sketch of the geographical history of this part of Africa.

In the first map of the world wherein the discoveries of the Spanish and Portuguese navigators were added to the thitherto sacred materials in the tables of Ptolemy, that given by John Ruych in the edition published at Rome in 1506, the Daradus and Stachir of the ancients assumed their modern names, with the simple difference of Canega for Senegal, and Gabarra for Gambia; the first flowing into the Atlantic, north of Cape Verd, and the latter south of it, pretty nearly in their correct latitude, and both springing from the same mountains, but a few degrees distant from the coast. The Rio Grande appears for the first time, and is traced, north of Sierra Leone, to the same mountains, but without a name. John Scott, to whom we owe the first *entire* map of Africa, a map evidently constructed after the minute details of some Portuguese navigators, and published in the Strasburgh edition of Ptolemy, first inserted the *regnum Musamel de Ginoia*, but delineated the Canaga and Gambia as arms of one great river,

rising not very distant from the coast, and Cape Verd as the intermediate point of their Delta. He also added the river Domingo, as an arm of the Rio Grande. The later editions of Ptolemy added nothing new in those parts, neither did Grynaeus in his map of 1535.

In the map of Africa given by Ramusio in 1550, the Senegal and Gambia are first drawn as arms of the Niger, acquiring their distinct names after the bifurcation. The Gelofe (Jaloffs) appear for the first time, but are placed north of the Senegal. In the map of Forlani the Veronese, in 1562, the Senegal, Gambia, and Rio Grande are all three made arms of the Niger, and with several other ramifications form a Delta, including Cape Roxo as well as Cape Verd. The Foulahs appear for the first time, under the name of Fulli, but are placed north of Tombotu, which is not more than 500 miles from the coast, and on the Senegal. Cantor also appears, and is well placed. Ortelius in his map of Africa, in 1587, evidently copied Forlani.

The learned Sanuto, in 1588, first delineated two lakes in Gaoga and Bornu, as the sources of the Senegal; another lake in the centre of Africa, and south of Cassina, is the source of the Gambia, and another behind

Benin as the source of the Niger, which he divided, in the Mandingo country, into two arms, running to the Atlantic, under the names of Rio Grande and Rio Castos. The position of the *Jalofa terra* is corrected, and Mandingo is added. In the map of Mercator the elder, in the edition of Hondius, 1606, the three rivers again appear as arms of the Niger. The Rio Becgue (Bisagos) is added, and also the Caragolis (Serra Woollies of Park), who are placed north of the Senegal. In the new map of Guinea in the same work, and apparently constructed by Mercator the younger, the Kasson of Park first occurs as Casson, Cayor as Cahul, Biafara as Jiagra; several Jaloff towns are inserted, and the Seussos added behind Sierra Leone. Maursius, in his map constructed for Dapper's Description de l'Afrique in 1656, first added the river Farim (Cacheo), and the kingdom of Tenda of Park, but there are no other additions, except several names of towns. Sanson, the more celebrated French geographer of the same century, and but a few years later, still preserved the Senegal, Gambia, and Rio Grande, as arms of the Niger; and only differed from his predecessors by adding some smaller rivers, and delineating the Gambia as a very small

stream in comparison with the broad rivers of Senegal and Grande.

De Lisle, in his best map of Africa, that of 1722, first derived the Senegal from the lake Maberá, and the Gambia from a distinct lake called Sapert, about 480 miles inland. The Portuguese settlement of Geba first appears under the name of Geva, (v and b being used indifferently in that language,) and is placed between the rivers Domingo or Farim and the Courboli or modern Balanties. Cacheo, which has since given its name to the river Domingo, is added, as well as Ouali, Bambouc, Galam, and Jarra, where Park was robbed of his sextant; but the Rio Grande appears to have first lost its importance in De Lisle, who traced it but a very little way inland.

Still more important additions and corrections are presented in D'Anville's chart, "*of that part of Western Africa between Arguin and Sierra Leone, in 1727.*" We ought to consult these partial maps of D'Anville for detail, and for the distinction of the certain from the uncertain, rather than his general map of Africa, subsequently published, in which the sources and entire courses of the Senegal and Gambia are inserted, whilst in the partial map now quoted, these parts are

insulated in what he calls supplements. The Gambia, for instance, is not continued beyond Houlli (Park's Woollie); the geographer wisely observing, that thus far his authority for its course was positive, but beyond, insufficient." I shall speak only of D'Anville's reform of the Senegal region ; the erudition and liberal criticism of Major Rennell have already familiarised this geographer's great changes in the more interesting and important points.

We are first struck with D'Anville's correction of the course of the Senegal, for the last 60 miles before it falls into the Atlantic, which he delineates between S. by W. and S. S. W. almost parallel with and never more than ten miles from the ocean, with which it communicates by a small stream about 45 miles from its mouth ; so that the course of this river through the interior, is raised half a degree more to the north than it was in De Lisle. D'Anville first laid down the large lake of Panel Fouli, about 60 miles north east of St. Louis ; also a still larger lake, Cayor, about 30 miles north of the Senegal, and receiving its waters during the inundation ; other smaller lakes were placed more inland, northwards of and communicating with the Senegal. The river de Morfil, branching off from the

Senegal, west of Galam, or about 400 miles from the coast, runs parallel with that river for nearly 300 miles, occasionally communicating with it by small channels, and ultimately falling into it again below Nioli or about 90 miles from the coast. The source of the Faleme is noted as unknown, D'Anville adding, that "it is said to have an arm of communication with the Gambia." The source of the Rio Grande is also noted as unknown, "though commonly derived from the Gambia." The Papels, the kingdom of Tora, Salem, the Feloops, the territories of the Brac and Damel, those of the Bourb Jolloff, and, in short, almost all the countries of which Park first determined the relative position with accuracy, are indicated very carefully by D'Anville, and numerous towns inserted in those near the coast.

In the map constructed by Buache in 1757, for the travels and discoveries of Adanson, and affixed to the *Histoire naturelle du Senegal* of that illustrious naturalist, the lakes Caer and Sanipeul of D'Anville are preserved, with the remark, that they are dry during *winter*, and then sown by the natives. The Gambia is not delineated beyond Baraconda, being dotted only to the lake Saper. The great lake of D'Anville in the kingdom of Casson is sup-

pressed, and a great number of towns are added. The system of the rivers falling into the Archipelago of Bisagos is the same as that originated by D'Anville, except that only one of these rivers is derived from the great lake in Cabo, instead of two.

The discoveries of Park, which settled one great point of a controversy of two thousand years, and gave a new face to the physical geography of western Africa, are most familiar to his countrymen with respect to the Niger; but they were otherwise highly important. In the map prefixed by Major Rennell to Park's first mission, in 1798, the head of the Senegal was laid down for the first time, $11^{\circ} 10' N.$ and $7^{\circ} 35' W.$, or about 80 miles W. by N. of that of the Niger. The head of the Gambia is placed in the same parallel, but in about $9^{\circ} 20' W.$ The river Faleme is traced to within 30 miles N. E. of the head of the Gambia, the course of which to the ocean was for the first time delineated with tolerable accuracy. The Balantes, Geba, and Cacheo rivers are traced precisely as they appear in the map constructed for M. Mollien, excepting that Major Rennell retained the lake admitted by D'Anville, which M. Mollien's engraver has suppressed, without telling us why; for it will be remarked that

this traveller's geographical observations and enquiries in that neighbourhood, were, from his exhausted state, very limited. Foota Torra appears in its proper place; Teembo and Laby are added for the first time, from the *data* of Watt and Winterbottom; and the river Dunso, crossed by them in their journey from the coast, is concluded to be the same as the Rio Grande. In the *Carte de la Côte occidentale de l'Afrique* delineated by Lapie (the Arrowsmith of France) in 1802, with the aid of all the unpublished materials in the archives of the Marine, the ancient system of D'Anville (which that geographer would have been the first to abandon after the mission of Park) is obstinately resumed; nor was it until some years after that M. Lapie could reconcile himself to substitute the discoveries of the English traveller for the deductions of the French geographer. This map does not contain Teembo; but for the course of the Senegal, and the country south of the latter part of that of the Gambia, it presents more detail than any other. In the map to Park's second journey, which was not constructed by Major Rennell, the course of the Gambia is corrected, having been found by Park to make a sudden dip of about 40 miles between Nellankorra and Badqo; the source

of the Senegal was removed a degree further to the eastward, and that of the Niger a degree and a half more to the westward, so as to appear not more than 70 miles from the Senegal, instead of 120, as Major Rennell had concluded. The longitudinal distance between the sources of the Gambia and the Senegal was consequently decreased about half a degree: the other alterations are not within our limits.

The new part of M. Mollien's route, then, is the line extending from Seedo to Teembo, with that from Teembo to Geba; and the important differences between his map and that of the last expedition of Park, are, 1st, the fixing of the source of the Rio Grande; 2nd, the approximation of the sources of the Gambia and the Senegal to about the same distance from each other as those of the Rhine and the Rhone, and the placing them on the same meridian, the latter about half a degree to the south of the former; 3d, the deepening of the dip of the Gambia between Nellankorra and Badoo, nearly 100 miles; 4th, the placing of Teembo about 100 miles nearer to the coast than it was determined to be by Mr. Watt (who visited it by a *direct* route), and by Major Rennell after his investigation of the map and *data* of that gentleman; 5th, the placing of

the source of the Niger about 180 miles nearer the coast than Park had concluded it to be.

It is extraordinary that the French government, recollecting that the geographical importance of Rubault's journey was considerably diminished by the want of astronomical observations, and also recollecting that *both* Park's routes had been determined by a series of latitudes and longitudes (and not *the last only*, as M. Eyries unaccountably asserts), did not desire M. Mollien to be instructed for this purpose: as it is, his route is almost as uncertain as the routes of those of his countrymen who have preceded him, and geographers are wholly indebted to Park's observations, and the Sierra Leone expedition of Watt and Winterbottom, for its mere approximation to the truth. M. Mollien has not constructed his map himself, but his engraver has done so, who, unfortunately, does not favour us with any explanation on the subject, but leaves us to *discover* his rules for the application of the *data*.

The French critics having instituted a comparison, in which M. Mollien is presumptuously and absurdly elevated to the rank of Park as a traveller, a comparison which I am sure those of M. Mollien's countrymen whose candor or knowledge entitle them to judge, and whose

genuine zeal for science admits of no national prejudice, will disavow, it is but fair to examine M. Mollien's pretensions by his book. This is even more insupportable than the elevation of Ali Bey to the rank of Browne, who, to quote the honest indignation of Burckhardt on the occasion, "was but a pigmy by the side of him," for Ali Bey constructed his own map and verified his route by observations. The shade of Park may rest in peace; for the spirits of science and enterprise, uncontaminated by political differences, anxious only for the advancement of knowledge, without regarding the birth-place of the member of their little republic, which comprehends all nations, these pure and generous spirits guard his glory in each quarter of the world with jealous vigilance and admiration.

"Semper honos nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt."

The first difficulty which occurs in calculating M. Mollien's bearings and distances, is, that he makes no mention of the variation of the compass; so that we cannot say whether he has lost sight of it altogether, whether he took that of Park's for 1805, or whether he was content with that furnished him by some vessel on the coast, and allowed for it without

telling us so. Supposing, which we have no authority to do, that the latter circumstance was the case, another difficulty occurs, the proportion of *horizontal distance* made good on each day's journey; for it cannot be imagined that it is possible, in travelling through a woody and frequently mountainous country 40 and even 90 miles *in one bearing*, to make good *the whole* of that number of miles on the *direct line* of that bearing. We never realized more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the day's journey according to our observations in marching to Ashantee, but that was a very close intricate country: let us suppose, however, that $\frac{1}{4}$ only may have been lost in the turnings of the path; now M. Mollien's engraver has considered that *nothing* was lost, but that when he travelled 40, 90, or even more miles in one direction, he made good every mile in that direct line on the map.

This is evident even in the convenient suppression of all remark on the construction of the map, for if we calculate the distances and bearings of M. Mollien's journies from Dieddie to Sedo, we find the result to be 26' southing, and 197' 7" easting, equal in that parallel to $3\frac{5}{12}$ degrees, which places Sedo where we find it in his map; but if we allow $\frac{3}{4}$ only of these long distances on a single bearing to be made good ho-

rizontally, according to the experience of others, the calculation gives 18 miles southing and 156 miles or $2\frac{2}{3}$ degrees easting, which places Sedo a little south of the Bala of M. Mollien's route, and 40 G. miles west of its position on his map. Lastly, if we suppose, in our entire ignorance on the subject, that M. Mollien has not considered *the variation*, the calculation of his courses and distance, allowing it to be one and a half point westerly, according to the latest observations on that coast, gives us about 2 miles southing, and 137 miles or $2\frac{5}{8}$ degrees easting, which would place Sedo about 100 miles to the north-east of its position on his map.

But these are not the only perplexities in which M. Mollien's map is involved, for he has evidently valued his days' journies greater than they possibly could be, judging from the experience and exertions of other travellers. Perhaps Park's five forced marches through the Jallonka wilderness, in company with Karfa Taura and the slave Coffle, were as much as any man could atchieve in Africa, whether native or European; these journies were calculated at 19 direct or 25 road miles each, and Park reckoned 18 G. miles, in direct distance, a long journey: but M. Mollien, whose phy-

- sical force appears from his own confessions to be very inferior to Park's, travelled *almost double* these distances in a day ; for instance, 40 miles in little more than 12 hours, from Coque to Bahene ; still more, or 90 miles in 48 hours (occasionally walking, as most of his companions did, and severe halts included), from Krokrok to Banda ; and even in the painful and difficult march from Maramasita over the Gambia to Cacagne, where he speaks of thick woods, torrents which arrested their steps every minute, precipices and rocks so steep as to be scarcely passable, he still travelled *thirty-eight* miles a day *for three days successively*, driving his worn-out horse before him : these distances, in such a country, we may not hesitate to pronounce impossible ; indeed, M. Mollien has generally calculated his distances as much too great, for to say nothing of these extraordinary journies, those of 24, 26, and 28 miles which occur so frequently in his route (even after he considered himself to have been poisoned, and was in so feeble a state as scarcely to be able to sit his ass without being supported by his walking companions), are certainly over-rated.

It is curious to observe that M. Eyries *supports* M. Mollien's alteration of the position

of Teembo, by alledging the impossibility of travelling more than 5 leagues a day in troop, whereas he makes no objection to his own traveller having made good about *three times that distance in troop*. M. Mollien appears to have concluded that he travelled at least a league and a quarter an hour on such occasions, which is too much; his countryman Rubault, a plain simple man, considered that he averaged but three quarters of a league an hour, in his journey from St. Louis to Galam.

Under such errors and omissions we have no resource, but the auxiliary *data* of other travellers, for fixing the points of M. Mollien's route with any degree of certainty; and we know but of three checks which can serve us: first, the number and length of the journeys noted by Picard, who is said to have been a traveller of superior qualifications, *and who visited Foota Tora from St. Louis, 30 years before M. Mollien*; secondly, the decision of the points where M. Mollien's route intersected those of Park; and, lastly, the position of Laby and Teembo, which (as they were visited *directly* from the Coast by a gentleman evidently more qualified than M. Mollien, and his positions examined and approved both by Mr. Beaufoy and Major Rennell), we cannot

believe to be so entirely wrong as M. Mollien would persuade us. To believe that the better qualified traveller, who had already made the distance from Teembo to the coast less by many miles than it was in Dr. Wadstrom's map, should in a *direct journey* of 250, have made an error of more *than 70 miles in longitude*, which the less qualified traveller has been able to discover and correct *by a circuitous route of 900 miles* without a single observation, is to believe that absurdity which M. Mollien would have done well not to have advanced.

I am disappointed of the first check which I mentioned, the route of Picard, the narrative of whose expedition I have not yet been able to procure; it is not to be found even in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

According to M. Mollien's map (for on this point his geographer M. Eyries says nothing), he would appear to have crossed Park's northern track of 1795, between *Kayor* and the Wells of that traveller, whose route, if drawn on M. Mollien's map, would pass through his Dialobe: but here we have another evidence of the errors of M. Mollien's *data*, and of the false construction of his map, for he describes this part of the country as *woody*, and places

towns and villages in it, whereas Park found it *an uninhabited sandy desert* of two days journey.

M. Eyries says that M. Mollien crossed Park's route of 1805 in 13° 40' N. and 14° 25' W. of Paris : it occurred to me, as it will to the reader, that as M. Mollien mentions no town on his route which we recognise in that of Park, his crossing of the Nicoloba River would be the *only* circumstance by which we could decide *this point of intersection* ; but I found that M. Mollien made no mention at all of this river, either in his text or itinerary, and therefore I concluded we were disappointed of this clue, until I discovered, that although the *author says not a word about it himself*, yet *M. Eyries asserts that he did cross the Nicolocoba*. I would rather M. Mollien had recollected this himself, as he has recollected almost every thing else (and much which could more easily have been spared), rather than that he should be reminded of it by another person. It would have been curious to have known the intermediate state of this periodical river, which appeared to Park like a considerable arm of the Niger immediately after the rainy season, and which just before this season was broken or divided into deep ponds : if

M. Mollien crossed it, it was between these two seasons.

To notice the communication between the Gambia and the Senegal by the Nerico, first reported in Labat, but not admitted by D'Anville, it happens to have been indicated on a French map 40 years before M. Eyries asserts, and that in the map of a geographer so eminent, that his countryman ought certainly to have been better acquainted with him. It is found in the map of Buache, before cited, to whom it had been reported by the intelligent Adanson: but this communication is by means of the Faleme, which the Nerico joins in *Bambouc*, instead of flowing *directly* into the Senegal *N. W. of Kajaagu*, as we are told by M. Mollien, who says that this communication is formed by two streams flowing, in opposite directions, from the great pond in Dendoude, when swelled by the rains. It is extraordinary that the inquisitive Park learned nothing of this communication, although he crossed the Nerico (which is said to effect it), 60 miles higher up, that is to say, 60 miles nearer to this alledged connection with the Senegal. Again, when Park crossed M. Mollien's *southern* stream from this pond, or the lower part of the Nerico, and which he calls an *arm* of the Gambia, which implies a

northward instead of a southward course, he found it 60 feet broad, four feet deep, and running with a current of two miles an hour, and this *before* the rainy season had set in; which, it must be allowed, is not very like a stream issuing from a *pond* after the rainy season *only*. Recollecting that this communication was merely *reported* by the natives to M. Mollien, M. Eyrie's concluding remark on the subject is a little inconsiderate, viz. "*that M. Mollien has confirmed what was only before a conjecture.*"

M. Eyries, anticipating that it would excite surprise, that the English travellers Watt and Winterbottom, in their visit and residence at Laby and Teembo, had heard nothing of the sources of the Gambia, Rio Grande, Faleme, and the Senegal, *all four of which* M. Mollien has discovered, and all of which the English travellers must have passed within a stone's throw of without hearing a syllable about them, although enjoying considerably more confidence with the natives from the nature of their *invited* mission; M. Eyries, expecting this might be an obstacle to an implicit belief, observes that these gentlemen "*probably asked no questions on the subject.*"

This compliment to Messrs. Watt and Win-

terbottom, who are thus condemned as having had less curiosity and less qualification than Robert Adams, the American sailor, justifies our enquiry into the comparative acquirements of Mr. Watt and M. Mollien, noticing that the companion of Mr. Watt was the brother of Dr. Winterbottom, whose works have been no ordinary contribution to our knowledge of Africa. But, without insisting on the advantage of such a companion, we will just recollect that Mr. Watt himself constructed a map of his route, approved by Mr. Beaufoy and complimented by Major Rennell; that he procured details not of the neighbourhood of Teembo only, but of the route to Timbuctoo, *and even of that to Cassina*; and that he was solicited, in consequence of the zeal and ability he had displayed, to undertake an expedition to Timbuctoo, and thence if possible to the Mediterranean; an expedition prevented only by his death. Indeed M. Eyries must admit, on reflection, as the more illustrious geographers of his own country do, that the English government has hitherto been in the habit of selecting men superior to M. Mollien for expeditions in Africa, not in courage or zeal, I grant that might be impossible, but certainly in education and acquirement. In short, let any person read

the extract from the plain but judicious and intelligent narrative of Mr. Watt (from his MS. journal in the Sierra Leone Report), who successfully occupied himself in collecting every information which could further our knowledge of the state of society and opinions in Africa, as well as of its geography ; let any person read these extracts after M. Mollien's narrative, and it will be evident which was the most likely man to have " addressed no questions " on the most important geographical points of a mission.

But Mr. Watt and his companion *did not forget* to enquire about the sources of the Gambia and Senegal, as M. Eyries has concluded ; not only, as is evident, without reading the extracts from this traveller's journal in the Sierra Leone Report, but even without reading the popular geographical illustrations of Park's journal by Major Rennell ; in which we are informed (*Mr. Watt's plan and journal being quoted as the authority*), that the Rio Grande has its source very far to the south of the chain of mountains whence the Gambia, Senegal, and Niger spring ; that it first runs to the north " till it touches the foot of this very ridge of mountains, by which it is turned to the west." With respect to the Senegal, which M. Mollien has laid down as running south-east, and north

of Teembo, and of the identity of which with the very distant river of Ba-fing M. Eyries tells us there could be no doubt, because it bears the same native name in both places; Mr. Watt and Dr. Winterbottom must, if what M. Mollien says be true, have crossed this very river in their route from Laby to Teembo, without even having the curiosity to enquire its name, by which simple omission they missed acquiring the merit of M. Mollien's discovery, for it rests on this single basis, the *name*, which from its nature, "the black river," may for aught we know be applied by the natives to more than one river in Africa, as we know Jolliba, Coomba, Flou, Halemin, etc. to be.

The only argument advanced by M. Eyries to warrant the material alteration of the positions of Laby and Teembo, is that the natives *reported* to M. Mollien that the latter was but eleven journeys from the coast, which M. Eyries too justly observes, for the correctness of his own traveller, can only be calculated at three leagues each. But will not M. Eyries allow that Mr. Watt's and Dr. Winterbottom's own account from actual experience (having travelled for 16 days *after* they left Kakundy, which is also a considerable distance up the Rio Nunez), is preferable, as an authority with geographers, to the

mere report of the natives to M. Mollien *en passant*. If M. Eyries had taken the trouble to have read the account of this expedition, he surely would not have countenanced such an absurdity, which is in fact to correct the certain by the uncertain.

As regards M. Mollien's placing the source of the Niger 3° nearer the coast than Park, that is, within 150 miles of it, such an alteration is a presumption which I am sure none of the French geographers will sanction, and which, I think I may venture to add, neither Lapie, Brue, or any of their map delineators will retain or copy. That Park at *Kamalia*, where he lived six months in friendship and confidence with the intelligent and liberal-minded Karfa Taura, constantly occupied in enquiry and observation, should have made a gross error in the source of the Niger; and that a traveller of the class of M. Mollien should have corrected this error in hurrying through *Teembo*, watched and suspected, is a little apocryphal: really M. Mollien should have been content to have left us *one* out of the *five* great rivers of this part of Africa, as Park and Major Rennell had determined them. The illness which prevented his proceeding would appear to have been an indigestion of discovery. It would be insulting

the memory of Park and the reputation of Major Rennell, to think of fortifying their conclusions by the accounts of others, when they are expunged by such authority as the present; but merely in justice to poor Mr. Watt, we may add, that amongst the accounts given him by the Niolas, that "of their not reaching the great water (the Joliba) until after a month's journey from Teembo," is a little inconvenient for M. Mollien's discovery. Travellers seem to manifest a disposition at the present moment, to accommodate the relaxed disposition of governments for discoveries in Africa, by shortening the distances to those great points which are most desirable to reach, in a proportionate ratio to the abatement of energy. Thus, the Niger, which, during the memorable exertions of the African Association, was admitted to be 360 miles from the coast, is now approached to within 150; and Timbuctoo is brought down by a Mr. Robertson* to within three days' navigation of a canoe from the Atlantic.

I proceed to a representation which would make Granville Sharp, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Clarkson, and those excellent men who first laboured to establish a colony in Africa

* *Notes on Africa*.—London, 1819.

for the noble object of undermining the slave trade by civilization and example, guilty of premeditated falsehood, of artfully deceiving the world, and, which is even worse, the subscribers to that generous institution who had entrusted them with, and pledged both character and property to their management of it.

I shall first beg the reader's attention to the following paragraphs from the ample extracts in the Sierra Leone report from the MS. journal of Messrs. Watt and Winterbottom, which I hope will now be published in the original.

“ Information having been brought to the
 “ Governor and Council, by some natives of
 “ the Foulah country, that the king of the
 “ Foulahs, a large and powerful nation to the
 “ north-east of Sierra-Leone, had expressed
 “ a *desire* to form an intercourse with the
 “ colony, two gentlemen in the Company's
 “ service offered to make an attempt to pene-
 “ trate through a large, and as yet unknown
 “ tract of country, to his capital.” P. 184.

“ The travellers found, as they went forward,
 “ a number of successive towns, distant in
 “ general six, eight, or ten miles from each
 “ other, in which they were always most hos-
 “ pitably received, the utmost satisfaction as
 “ well as surprise being expressed at the ap-

“ pearance of white men.” P. 185.—“ They
 “ arrived at the town of Laby, which is distant
 “ about 200 miles, almost directly eastward or
 “ inland, from that part of the river Rionunes
 “ from which they set out on foot. Here they
 “ spent three or four days, being most cor-
 “ dially received by the chief or king of the
 “ place, who is subordinate to the king of the
 “ Foulahs.” P. 186.—“ Laby is about two
 “ miles and a half in circumference, and is
 “ supposed to contain not less than 5000 in-
 “ habitants; the state of civilization is much
 “ the same here as in the farther part, which
 “ will be described shortly. From Laby they
 “ proceeded towards the capital of the Foulah
 “ kingdom, called Teembo, which is 72 miles
 “ further inland; and having experienced every
 “ where the same hospitality, they arrived there
 “ in the course of a week.” P. 186.—“ Dur-
 “ ing fourteen days, which they passed in the
 “ capital, they had many conversations, through
 “ the medium of interpreters, both with the
 “ king and with a person who acts as deputy
 “ to the king in his absence, and with many
 “ other principal persons.” P. 187.—“ The
 “ servants of the Company appear to have lost
 “ no opportunity of inveighing against the
 “ wickedness of their wars, and of inculcating

“ the principles which govern the Sierra Leone
“ Company on the minds both of the king, the
“ chief priests, and other principal persons.”

P. 189.—After an interview with the king himself, Mr. Watt observes, “ The king, the head
“ priest, and the chief minister, all suffered
“ me to proceed without interruption. I was
“ surprized at their attention ; they all acknow-
“ ledged the truth of what I said, and the king
“ observed, that if he could get guns and
“ powder, and every thing else he wanted, for
“ ivory, rice, and cattle, he would soon have
“ done with the slave trade. I told him, that
“ if once the people of Africa knew the Sierra
“ Leone Company perfectly, I was sure the
“ wars would cease, and the nations of Africa
“ would be at peace with their neighbours.
“ They all said, they believed so too.” P. 190.
“ The Directors have the satisfaction of ob-
“ serving, that two travellers appear, both
“ by the propriety and consistency of their
“ conduct, and by the public declarations
“ which they made of the principles which
“ governed the conduct of the Sierra Leone
“ Company, to have ingratiated themselves
“ much with the natives, and to have peculiarly
“ possessed themselves of the confidence of
“ the chief people. The king being asked

“ whether he should be willing to encourage
“ any European to settle near him, with a view
“ to cultivation, readily answered, that he
“ would furnish him with land, and cattle,
“ and men for the purpose. Much conver-
“ sation passed at different times concerning
“ the introduction of the plough, of which no
“ one had ever heard in the Foulah country.
“ The king of Laby offered to send a son to
“ England for education, and a principal priest
“ expressed some willingness to do the same.”

P. 194.—“ Four or five considerable persons
“ from the Foulah king, and from other kings
“ and chiefs, together with their suite, came
“ down to Freetown with the white travellers,
“ and passed a few days there, arranged some
“ plans with a view to a commercial inter-
“ course, and returned full of admiration of
“ what they had seen, and gratified in the
“ highest degree by their visit.” P. 196.—

“ The success attending the journey which
“ has just been described, has encouraged the
“ idea of another and more important enter-
“ prize, upon which one of the travellers into
“ the Foulah country, and another person in
“ the service of the Company, were, according
“ to the last accounts, likely soon to enter.”
P. 197.—Major Rennel has observed, “ Those

“ who have perused the journal of Messrs.
“ Watt and Winterbottom, through the Foulah
“ country, in 1794, and recollect how flattering a picture they give of the urbanity and
“ hospitality of the Foulahs, will be gratified
“ on finding that this nation was known and
“ distinguished from the rest of the Ethiopians
“ at a remote period of antiquity.”

After reading these plain statements of the nature, treatment, and results of an invited and generous enterprise, who will not feel disgusted at the representation of the French traveller, that these English gentlemen “ went *disguised* “ as sheriffs, that their *stratagem* was soon “ discovered, and that after detaining them 14 “ days in the capital, they compelled them to “ return to Sierra Leone, the Poules (Foulahs) “ not allowing them to proceed.” Thus the occasion, the motives, and the execution of this expedition, are misrepresented and vilified; whether from jealousy, or servility to existing opinions, I do not pretend to determine.

FINIS.



with the Author

*Reply
to the
Quarterly Review*

~~INTRODUCTION.~~

THE Quarterly Review having unprovokedly followed up its attack in March last by a second in July, I beg to submit the following brief reply to the candour and good-sense of the British Public. I shall merely throw my vouchers into the scale, and leave the world to adjust the balance between facts and assertions.

First. I submit that the Quarterly Review convicts itself. (a)

(a) " After all, we are much mistaken if the shortest
" and best road for Europeans, to Tombuctoo, will not
" be found to be that from Cummazee, the capital of the
" Ashantees. It is somewhat remarkable that we should
" just now, for the first time in the course of two hun-
" dred years, learn any thing of this rich and populous
" nation, whose capital is stationed not a hundred and
" fifty miles from the British factory. In the course of
" last year a mission from the Governor of Cape Coast
" Castle was sent to Zey Tootoo Quamina, King of
" Ashantee, consisting of Mr. Bowdich, Mr. Hutchinson,
" and Mr. Tedlie. For some time after their arrival in
" the capital, they were kept in close confinement, owing
" to the jealousy instilled into the king's mind by some

Secondly. To prove that my disappointed expectations of reward were not unreasonable, as has been represented, I submit the only application I ever made on the subject, in an extract from the only document existing in evidence of what I considered to be a fair recompense of my services, and a document published some months before the Quarterly Review hazarded the assertion which it contradicts : whether such a recompense ought

“ Moorish merchants, assisted by the intrigues of the
“ notorious Daendels, once the servile tool of Buona-
“ parte, and now the representative of his Netherlandish
“ Majesty on this part of the coast of Africa. Their
“ good conduct, however, enabled them to overcome all
“ difficulties, and the king was so well satisfied of the
“ sincerity of their views and declarations, that he con-
“ cluded a treaty with them, and consented to send his
“ children to be educated at Cape Coast Castle.

“ Mr. Bowdich has been indefatigable in his endea-
“ vours to procure information respecting Ashantee and
“ the countries beyond it. From one of the travelling
“ Moors, he obtained, he says, a route book at the ex-
“ pense of his own wardrobe and the doctor's medicines ;
“ but the fellow told him ‘ he had sold him his eye.’
“ The route from Cummazee to Tombuctoo, it appears,
“ is much travelled; in the way thither the next adjoin-
“ ing territory is that of Dwabin, with the king of which
“ Mr. Bowdich also concluded a treaty.”

Quarterly Review. June, 1818.

to have been denied I leave the public to determine. (b)

Thirdly. As to my offering my services to the French, the illustrious friends whose written testimonies I shall presently submit, will affirm that such a view was never even contemplated on my part; and I am happily in possession of a document, (b*) in proof of the overtures having

(b) " As Mr. Dupuis' salary is a precedent for mine, I
" beg respectfully to submit, that, considering our com-
" parative claims, (Mr. Dupuis having merely been found
" to fill a situation which my industry created) and the
" labour, responsibility, and risk of my undertakings, I
" could not accept less than 500 £. a-year, to be paid in
" sterling money in England, with the liberty of pub-
" lishing the annual reports of our enterprizes, ex-
" pressedly, by permission of the African Committee."
" *The African Committee.*" Longman, 1819, p. 44.

(b*) *Paris, Mercredi 17 Novembre 1819.*

MONSIEUR,

Son Excellence le Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies, qui désire beaucoup vous connaître, vous prie de venir demain matin, avec moi, déjeuner chez lui.

Si vous voulez avoir la complaisance de venir me prendre à dix heures précises, j'aurai le plaisir de vous conduire.

Veuillez croire à tout le désir que j'ai de vous être à la fois utile et agréable.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer,

(Signed.)

CH. DUPIN.

M. Bowdich.

been made to me on the part of the government, which overtures, tempting and flattering as the terms were to my private feelings, were declined, as these same friends can prove, from a feeling which they pronounced to be honorable and generous, whilst others, recollecting my family and my injuries, condemned it as romantic. On such a charge as this, I cannot, as an Englishman, feel otherwise than indignant; I have given more than one proof how much I love my country; I have more than once sacrificed the interests and happiness of those who are dearest to me to this feeling; and the proudest moment of my life was that, when, surrounded by terrors and menaced by death, I rescued a falling Mission from the trembling hand which dared not shield it, redeemed the character of every one of my countrymen in the eyes of exulting barbarians, and vindicated one of the noblest causes of Great Britain from the doubts of the uncivilized and the artful calumnies of the enemies to Christianity.

Fourthly. As to my forming a conspiracy against Mr. James and inveigling "my young companions" (both older than myself) therein, I will request the Public to peruse the official report of Mr. Hutchison's rescue of a fellow-

creature from sacrifice at the imminent risk of his own life,* with Mr. Tedlie's chapter on the *Materia Medica* and diseases of Ashantee, and his relation of his interview with the king;† after which, I will ask whether it is likely that such young men as these could have been suddenly seduced by any influence of mine into conspiracy and falsehood?

Mr. Tedlie, who was educated in the University of Dublin, served with credit in the expedition to Candy, and died at Cape Coast Castle in his twenty-seventh year (of a dysentery contracted in the early part of the enterprise, and aggravated by the fatigues and privations of the march down), swore to his depositions against Mr. James, at his own request. Is it not enough for his afflicted family, for a doting mother and an indulgent father to weep the untimely death of the child they were proud of, agonised by the reflection that his zeal and courage had led him to quit the ample comforts of his home, deaf to the remonstrances of their fondness and the dictates of his own interest? Has not this worthy family contributed enough to the honour of the sister

* See Appendix I.

† Mission to Ashantee, p. 370.

country, at the expence of its own happiness, without aggravating, without insulting their grief, by endeavouring to attach the blot of *perjury* to the memory of a son, of a youthful victim to a generous cause, who has thus been hurried into the presence of the Almighty? But the blessings of hundreds of negroes, rescued from the long protracted torments of desperate disease, by his skill, by his patient and watchful tenderness, have reached the throne of their common Creator, and sealed the peace of that noble spirit, which an Englishman would thus have stained with the worst of crimes.

I next submit, that, independent of Mr. James's dereliction of duty from supineness and alarm, independent of those disgraceful points of his conduct which have not yet been exposed (the evidence, affidavits, and two dispatches being suppressed in my publication), his own public letter more than justified our conscientious interference for the rescue of an important and expensive Mission, which, as the results have proved, it would have been criminal and unmanly to have abandoned. (c)

(c) *Extract from Mr. James's dispatch.*

“ In the present suspicious state of the king's mind

Mr. James was *unanimously* condemned, by his *five* colleagues in council, as guilty of all which was laid to his charge; and these five colleagues concurred in the subjoined report of my conduct to the Committee. (*d*)

Finally, I quit this point of the charge by submitting public opinions of my conduct, both in the rescue (*e*) and consummation (*f*) of the Mission.

“ respecting us, I fear it would be impolitic to make the
“ enquiries you ordered in your instructions. I think
“ it will be more prudent to leave them to time. I
“ expect to return to the coast in a month.”

(*d*) *Extract from the Dispatch to the Committee.*

“ We cannot conclude this paragraph without no-
“ ticing the distinguished manner in which the nego-
“ ciation with our new allies, the Ashantees, was
“ conducted by Mr. Bowdich. By his talents, perse-
“ verance, and prudence, obstacles that seemed invincible
“ have been surmounted, and whatever may be the
“ extent of our future intercourse with the interior, the
“ foundation must certainly be attributed to him; to
“ recommend him to your notice would be a reflection
“ on your judgment.”

(*e*) “ As a political agent, also, Mr. Bowdich’s character
“ appears to merit high commendation; for he met
“ with trials in which promptitude of determination,
“ resolution in action, and consistent firmness in per-

Fifthly. The Quarterly Review's ridicule;

“ severing, were required by the circumstances of no
“ ordinary kind of diplomacy.

“ On such an occasion, the original conductor of the
“ mission being silent, Mr. Bowdich rose, and with
“ combined energy and discretion addressed the sove-
“ reign ; explaining the motives of the mission with
“ such marked appearance of sincerity, that, etc. etc.”

Monthly Review, Nov.

“ The next morning they had their first audience of
“ the king, and at an ensuing interview the whole fate
“ of the embassy seems to have been in imminent danger
“ from want of presence of mind on the part of the
“ conductor Mr. James. Mr. Bowdick's spirited promp-
“ titude remedied this indiscretion, and his representa-
“ tions to the seat of government procured the recall of
“ his superior officer, and his own appointment in his
“ room. He saved the mission from
“ failure, and perhaps from outrage ; and in consequence
“ he was enabled to procure for us much information,
“ which is altogether very valuable.”

British Critic, April, 1819.

“ On en confie la conduite à un homme qui, par sa
“ faiblesse et son impéritie, met en danger le succès de la
“ négociation, sa propre vie, celle de ses compagnons, et,
“ par suite, tous les établissemens des Anglais sur cette
“ côte. Un jeune homme, envoyé sous ses ordres pour
“ faire les recherches scientifiques, par sa présence d'es-
“ prit, son intrépidité, conjure l'orage, arrête les effets
“ de la colère du roi des Ashantées, se concilie son

I cannot say criticism, of my geographical

“ estime, sa confiance, et établit entre lui et les Anglais
 “ une paix solide ; obtient qu’un consul Anglais résidera
 “ pour toujours dans la capitale de ce roi, devenu par
 “ son moyen ami et allié, d’ennemi redoutable qu’il
 “ était auparavant.”

Walckenaer's Itineraries to Timbuctoo.

“ M. James, le commandant d’Accra, chef de la mis-
 “ sion, surpris et troublé au dernier point de cet accueil,
 “ ne sut que s’excuser sur l’innocence de ses intentions.
 “ personnelles, sans nier rien de la conduite du gouver-
 “ neur général, dont cependant il tenait sa mission, et
 “ demanda la permission de s’en retourner à Cape Coast.
 “ avec son escorte, pour éclaircir ces sujets de plainte.
 “ Cette faiblesse étant naturellement prise pour un aveu
 “ formel, le roi, enflammé de colère, le renvoya de sa
 “ présence. Tout était perdu pour les Anglais, et leur
 “ vie même était en grand péril, lorsque M. Bowdich et
 “ ses deux jeunes compagnons se décidèrent à prendre
 “ sur eux seuls la conduite et la responsabilité d’une
 “ affaire si désespérée : ayant prévenu de leur résolution
 “ M. James, jusqu’alors leur chef, ils demandèrent à
 “ parler encore une fois au roi ; ce qui leur étant accordé,
 “ sans doute parce qu’on les croyoit perdus sans res-
 “ source, M. Bowdich prit la parole d’une manière
 “ solennelle, repoussa les soupçons élevés contre les
 “ desseins et la conduite du gouverneur général ; et, pour
 “ preuve de la vérité de ses assertions, il annonça que
 “ son intention était de renvoyer M. James à Cape
 “ Coast avec l’escorte de Fantées, et de rester seul,

labours, (g) and its *travestie* of my faithful

“ avec ses deux compagnons, entre les mains du roi à.
 “ Coomassie, jusqu’à ce que les différens qui s’étaient.
 “ élevés fussent aplanis. Cette démarche franche et
 “ hardie releva tout-à-coup le crédit des Anglais : leur
 “ offre fut acceptée, et ils s’empressèrent aussitôt de la
 “ mettre à exécution. En même temps ils écrivirent
 “ au gouverneur général pour lui exposer le parti qu’ils
 “ s’étaient crus obligés de prendre, et, en se soumettant à
 “ la justice, ils ajoutèrent ces nobles paroles,” etc. etc. etc.
 “ Les torts apparens ou réels dont se plaignait le roi
 “ des Ashantées furent expliqués ou réparés, et M. Bow-
 “ dich reçut l’ordre de prendre le commandement de la
 “ mission qu’il avait sauvée.”

Biot, Journal des Savans, Août.

(f) “ We could not, therefore, but form a favourable
 “ opinion of Mr. Bowdich’s talents when we reflected
 “ that, after the numerous abortive attempts of various
 “ able and persevering men to establish an intercourse
 “ with the inland country, this gentleman, in the short
 “ space of five months, so completely attained the object,
 “ that we have now a permanent accredited agent at
 “ Coomassie, the capital of a great and powerful king-
 “ dom, which but ten years ago was known to us only
 “ by vague and improbable reports.”

Monthly Review, May, 1820.

“ Every other expedition into that hitherto ill-fated
 “ and impenetrable continent, has miscarried in its
 “ objects, and proved destructive to its conductors. We
 “ have met with no relation for a long time which has

contributions to literature, (h) are to be weighed against the following commendations of more

“ so powerfully arrested our attention, and at once so
“ much awakened and so well gratified our curiosity.”

British Critic, April, 1819.

“ En comparant ces résultats constamment funestes
“ avec le succès complet que M. Bowdich vient d’obtenir
“ dans la mission dont nous allons rendre compte, et
“ qu’il a exécutée sans préparatifs, presque sans frais,
“ seulement avec l’assistance de deux officiers Anglais et
“ deux soldats pris parmi les naturels de Cape Coast, à
“ la solde de la compagnie Anglaise, on pensera sans
“ doute que le plan qu’il a suivi, doit avoir eu des avan-
“ tages propres, et avoir été fondé sur d’autres principes
“ que ceux des voyageurs qui l’ont précédé; c’est en
“ effet ce que l’on reconnaîtra facilement par le récit
“ abrégé des aventures mêmes de ce jeune et heureux
“ voyageur.”

Biot, Journal des Savans, Août 1819.

(g) “ DEAR SIR;

“ I return your valuable MSS. with my best thanks
“ for the permission to read them. Without flattery, I
“ consider them as containing much new and valuable
“ information respecting the geography of a part the
“ least known, and which presents objects which were
“ not expected.

“ I consider the fact of the Gambaroo river as a new
“ discovery; and, as such, meriting examination. I really
“ think that the matter contains much internal evidence

impartial and disinterested critics, and of men
of acknowledged judgment and science.

“ of its own truth, and that you have displayed much
“ judgment and industry in collecting it.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Most thankfully your obliged servant,

(Signed)

“ J. RENNELL.”

Nassau Street,

13th July, 1818.

T. E. Bowdich, Esq.

April 17th, 1819.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I thank you very kindly for the use of your book,
“ and felt myself very much indebted for the geogra-
“ phical part and the charts, which you presented to me
“ whilst at Brighton. Your book has given me much
“ information, and very much pleasure. With respect
“ to presenting copies of books, I will speak more here-
“ after; I think you have suffered enough to please
“ others.

“ Yours thankfully,

(Signed)

“ J. RENNELL.”

T. E. Bowdich, Esq.

Chelsea, March 29, 1818.

“ SIR,

“ I beg leave in the name of the African Association
“ to return you their thanks for your obliging present
“ of the original Moorish charts and routes published in
“ the Appendix to your account of the late mission to

Sixthly. That my character cannot suffer

“ the Ashantee country, together with some sketches on
“ the Gabon river. I beg leave to congratulate you on
“ the publication of your most interesting and instructive
“ book.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Your faithful and obedient servant;

(Signed)

“ W. HAMILTON.”

T. E. Bowdich, Esq.

“ These are the most important extracts from this
“ publication, which is certainly one of considerable
“ importance, from the account it gives us of a people
“ hitherto almost entirely unknown, and from the light
“ which the very diligent and laborious enquiries of
“ Mr. Bowdich have thrown upon the geography of
“ Africa, and the probability held out to us of approach-
“ ing the great kingdoms on the Niger, by means of an
“ intercourse by no means difficult to be established with
“ the kingdoms of Inta and Dagwumba.”

Edinburgh Review, June 7, 1820.

“ But we must refer our readers to the work itself for
“ the additions which Mr. Bowdich has made to our
“ knowledge of African geography. It would be unjust,
“ even if it were not impossible, to abridge his valuable
“ chapter on this interesting and obscure subject.”

British Critic, April, 1819.

“ Ce jeune homme ardent, plein d'esprit et d'instruc-
“ tion, infatigable, profitant de la consideration qu'il
“ s'est acquise parmi les naturels, et de quatre mois de

from the aspersions of the Quarterly Review,
is evident from the notes below. (i)

“ séjour, observe les mœurs, les habitudes, et les insti-
“ tutions d'un des peuples les plus curieux de l'Afri-
“ que. Il obtient, par un grand nombre de marchands
“ Maures, et par les habitans de la rivière Gabon, des
“ renseignemens sur l'intérieur de cette partie du monde,
“ sur les noms et les directions des grandes fleuves qui
“ arrosent le Soudan, et sur les nations qui peuplent ces
“ vastes régions. De retour dans sa patrie il publie une
“ relation, qui est, avec celle de Brown; de Hornemann
“ et de Park, ce que nous avons de plus neuf et de plus
“ intéressant sur l'Afrique.”

Walckenaer's Itineraries to Timbuctoo.

“ Cet heureux résultat et les négociations mêmes qui
“ l'avaient amené, plaçaient M. Bowdich dans une posi-
“ tion très-favorable pour acquérir sur les mœurs des
“ Ashantées, sur la constitution de ce peuple, ses lois,
“ son histoire, ses relations politiques ou commerciales,
“ des notions sûres et propres à jeter une lumière toute
“ nouvelle sur l'intérieur si peu connu de l'Afrique. . .
“ L'espace qui nous reste suffira à peine pour indiquer
“ les résultats de tout genre que notre voyageur à
“ recueillis. . . . Ces observations donnent
“ beaucoup de notions nouvelles, et en rectifient égale-
“ ment un grand nombre qui étaient fausses ou inexactes,
“ parmi celles que l'on avait précédemment admises.
“ Outre ces résultats de géographie générale, on trouve
“ dans l'ouvrage de M. Bowdich une foule de détails
“ locaux du plus grand intérêt. Plusieurs autres royaumes,

Lastly. Public opinion, and the measure of the government, has acknowledged my second

“ dont le nom et l'existence étaient précédemment tout-
“ à-fait inconnus, ont été découverts par M. Bowdich,
“ et leur position relative a été indiquée par ses re-
“ cherches. En un mot, il a rempli de noms et d'intérêt
“ ce grand espace vide qui existait dans la géographie
“ de l'Afrique, depuis la côte de Guinée jusqu'au Niger,
“ et dont on ignorait même s'il était désert ou habité.
“ On peut avoir d'autant plus de confiance
“ à son témoignage que, dans d'autres cas, il ne dissimule
“ point les contradictions qui se sont rencontrées entre
“ ceux qu'il interrogeait. C'est ainsi qu'il avoue n'avoir
“ pas pu obtenir de renseignemens précis sur la source
“ du Niger, et il ne paraît pas non plus séduit par le
“ désir d'annoncer des résultats extraordinaires ; car, au
“ contraire, il rappelle avec empressement toutes les
“ indications des écrivains antérieurs qui peuvent avoir
“ vu ou soupçonné les mêmes faits.”

Biot, Journal des Savans, Août.

(h) “ J'ai heureusement trouvé la traduction de votre
“ ouvrage, que j'ai lu avec autant d'intérêt que de curio-
“ sité ; vos tableaux sont si vrais que je ne suis pas bien
“ sûr à présent d'avoir été à Ashantée.

“ Recevez tous mes remerciemens du plaisir que j'ai
“ éprouvé de vous connaître et de vous lire.

(Signed)

“ DENON.”

14 Mai 1820,
A. M. M. Bowdich.

service to my country, in exposing the disguised system which perverted the uses of her valuable

“ Our difficulty in this review has arisen
“ chiefly from the narrowness of our limits. Where
“ almost every thing is new and worthy of relation it is
“ not an easy task to reject. We confidently recommend
“ our readers, therefore, to this work at large, assuring
“ them, that we have been compelled to omit a vast portion
“ of matter of extraordinary interest and information.
“ The strange mixture of savage and civilized habits, of
“ the grotesque and the horrible, the magnificent and
“ the barbarous, throws a living character of the whole
“ length picture, which we cannot hope to transfer to
“ the miniature ; and we should be most unjust if we
“ did not repeat, that we know not when this species of
“ literature has received so valuable an accession to its
“ treasures.”

British Critic, April, 1819.

“ The terrific ornaments of the halls of Dahomy have
“ indeed, heretofore, been *bruted* by fame, and amplified
“ by imagination ; but to the present spectacles are
“ given an ‘habitation and a name ;’ and such fictions
“ as fancy draws have here received testimony and cor-
“ roborations, to which even the incredulous cannot but
“ assent. It will not therefore surprise our readers if
“ we avail ourselves of an opportunity of rare occur-
“ rence, and describe with some degree of detail the
“ pomp and circumstance of the kingdom of Ashantee.
“ It happens fortunately for such a purpose, that the
“ author, whom we follow as our guide, seems to com-

settlements on the Gold Coast : I trust that the latter will ere long confirm the former in its

“ bine, in no ordinary degree, those qualifications which
“ are most requisite in a recorder of facts and a delineator
“ of men and manners; and it must be obvious to those
“ who peruse Mr. Bowdich’s work, that it marks its
“ author as a gentleman of liberal learning and attain-
“ ments. In the attempt to convey
“ some portion of each chapter to our readers, we have
“ followed the author with a closer step than our usual
“ custom induces, and with a confidence in him as a
“ guide, which we do not very frequently entertain.”

Monthly Review, November and December, 1819.

“ Un noble éloge adressé par l’orateur à un jeune
“ voyageur Anglais, présent à la séance, et déjà célébré
“ par une rare intrépidité, a excité les plus vifs applau-
“ dissemens.”

Journal du Commerce, de Politique et de Littérature,
Annual Meeting of the four Academies, 25 Avril, 1819.

(i) “ Je verrai avec plaisir citer mon nom chaque
“ fois que je pourrai vous donner un témoignage public
“ de mon estime, et de l’intérêt qu’inspire votre noble et
“ courageux dévouement. J’ai retardé ma réponse :
“ j’ai voulu consulter une personne qui vous est sincère-
“ ment attachée, et qui, comme moi, craint que votre
“ réponse pourroit vous arrêter dans la carrière utile
“ que vous voulez suivre. M. Cuvier pense, comme
“ moi, que l’on ne gagne jamais rien contre les jour-
“ naux, qui agissent comme les troupes réglées, comme

persuasion of the prudence, economy, and

“ des armées permanentes. Nous désirons votre repos,
“ et des succès, Monsieur, qui doivent récompenser un
“ si généreux dévouement, des études si laborieuses.
“ Veuillez bien excuser ma franchise, et agréer l'expres-
“ sion de ma haute et affectueuse considération.

(Signed)

“ HUMBOLDT.”

Paris, Mai 5, 1820.

“ I mentioned in my letter a few days since, that I
“ had enclosed Mr. Bowdich's papers to my brother,
“ Lord Exmouth, and to day I have them returned by
“ him with the following remark, to use his own words.
“ ‘ I have read all Mr. Bowdich's letters, and I think
“ ‘ as I did ; the subject is very interesting, and he has
“ ‘ been very ill-used, and that our affairs in Africa are
“ ‘ in very bad hands. I was present at a Trinity-
“ ‘ House dinner with Lord Liverpool, when he spoke
“ ‘ of Mr. Bowdich's work in the highest terms, as the
“ ‘ most interesting he had ever read, and the most
“ ‘ extraordinary. Mr. Bowdich will have a very diffi-
“ ‘ cult task to get heard as he ought to be, but he will
“ ‘ succeed at last either here or in France ; truth and
“ ‘ reason are his own.’

“ I am further convinced on his return to town, my
“ brother will hazard some questions on the subject, and
“ maintain his opinion. You will carry all this back to
“ my friend. Believe me, dear Madam, etc. etc. etc.

(Signed)

“ S. PELLEW.”

Falmouth,

March 24th, 1820.

Mrs. Bowdich.

benevolence of my views for our establish-

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I am sorry I could not accomplish the execution of
 " your wishes by yesterday's post, having many im-
 " portantly important letters before me. I did not, however,
 " omit writing to my cousin, Lady Grenville, to make
 " honorable mention of your name in a message to her
 " husband, calling his attention to the necessity of
 " British influence being employed in Africa towards
 " the abolition of human sacrifices, and the hindrance
 " of a renewed secret slave-trade, that influence being
 " to be supplied through a better medium than the
 " ' African Committee of Traders.' I shall resume this
 " subject direct to himself, as the principal organ, in the
 " House of Lords, of the national wishes on that sub-
 " ject, as Mr. Wilberforce is in the House of Commons,
 " to whom I will write. ~~I think also of writing to my~~
 " very old friend, Lady Bathurst, as you tell me that
 " the matter depends on the branch of administration
 " of which his Lordship is the chief. I also wish to
 " know from you, on whom the appointment of a suc-
 " cessor to poor Ritchie depends, and whether you
 " would like the appointment, which I consider to be
 " your right if you do, and this consideration alone
 " hinders me from applying for it for Mr. Oates, Vice-
 " Consul of Hanover, at Tripoli. If you obtained the
 " appointment, he might be your second as British Vice-
 " Consul at some neighbouring state, and you might
 " thus mutually aid and assist each other. We will
 " converse on this matter when we meet.

" Yours faithfully,

Paris, March, 1820. (Signed) " W. SIDNEY SMITH."

ments and enterprises in this part of Africa; (k)

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ You will have learned from the English papers that
“ government means to make no alteration this year on
“ the Gold Coast, but that next year they mean to take
“ the management into their own hands, and I think
“ they will act in a very different way from the present
“ Company. I think your claims are so strong, that on
“ being properly urged, they can hardly fail of obtaining
“ an appointment for you. Under these circumstances,
“ I should hardly think it desirable for you to embark
“ in any expedition to Africa, till you see what the
“ changes of the next year will produce.

“ Mr. Wilberforce is interested in your cause, and
“ I trust that I shall have an opportunity this summer,
“ of consulting again with him on the subject. Be
“ assured that I will do any thing in my power to serve
“ you.

“ I am very glad to find that you are acquiring so
“ much knowledge in Paris; it will be an additional
“ claim on government, as rendering your services more
“ useful.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir,

“ Yours very truly,

(Signed) “MOUNTNORRIS.”

Arley Hall,

June 20th, 1820.

T. E. Bowdich, Esq.

(k) *Soho Square, Sept. 5; 1818.*

“ Your account of the kingdom of Ashantee and the
“ capital town of Coomassie, is most interesting, and

and that the Quarterly Review, recollecting

“ the means you point out of penetrating to the town
“ of Timbuctoo, and ascertaining the course of the
“ Joliba, which carry with them a greater probability
“ of success than any that have hitherto come to my
“ knowledge, cannot fail to attract the attention of all
“ who interest themselves in the discovery of the interior
“ of Africa.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

“ J. BANKS.”

“ Vous connaissez mes sentimens pour vous, Monsieur.
“ Il n’y a rien de plus affligeant que de voir entravé dans
“ de nobles projets, un homme qui a déjà déployé tant
“ d’ardeur et de courage. C’est en Angleterre même,
“ il me semble, que votre projet doit trouver le plus
“ d’admirateurs. Comptez toujours sur la part la plus
“ vive que je prends à votre sort.

“ Mille amitiés,

“ HUMBOLDT.”

Mardi,

Quai de l’Ecole.

M. M. Bowdich.

“ The information procured from such wise and
“ moderate undertakings would enable any future
“ mission to proceed with much greater ease and safety
“ into the interior, or prevent them from proceeding,
“ as they hitherto have done to their own destruction:
“ we strongly believe with Mr. Bowdich, that this is the
“ right road to the Niger.”

Edinburgh Review, January, 1820.

all that it has written on this subject, (1) will admit, with the rest of my countrymen, that this is the moment for action and discovery

“ Un des chapitres les plus intéressans et les plus utiles
“ de l'ouvrage de M. Bowdich, c'est celui où il expose
“ les moyens de lier des relations de commerce avec
“ l'intérieur de l'Afrique par les établissemens de la côte
“ de Guinée, et surtout, par l'intermédiaire des Ashantées.
“ Tenir envers ces peuples une conduite noble et juste,
“ qui leur inspire du respect pour le caractère Européen,
“ répandre chez eux par la seule voie de la persuasion et
“ de l'exemple, les sentimens d'équité, d'humanité, les
“ idées de travail, d'agriculture et de commerce qui con-
“ duisent à la civilisation ; les détacher ainsi naturelle-
“ ment et sans violence de leurs superstitions cruelles
“ pour les amener à une religion qui prescrit et inspire
“ toutes les vertus sociales ; en faire ainsi des êtres bons,
“ laborieux et heureux, telles sont les voies que M. Bow-
“ dich propose ; tels sont les résultats qu'il regarde
“ comme possibles, et même comme assurés, en suivant
“ ces indications. Puisse son plan être adopté par ses
“ compatriotes, et par les autres nations Européennes
“ qui ont des établissemens sur les côtes orientales de
“ l'Afrique ! Alors la civilisation et le bonheur pourront
“ enfin paraître sur cette vaste partie du monde, si long-
“ temps en proie aux superstitions, aux massacres, à
“ l'esclavage, à la barbarie. L'Europe doit ce bienfait
“ à l'Afrique, en réparation des maux que la traite a
“ répandus depuis trois siècles sur cette terre infortunée.
“ Une des considérations sur lesquelles M. Bowdich

instead of discussion and hypothesis, and that in seeking no other recompense for hazardous services, than the permission to expose my life,

“ insiste le plus, et avec raison, à ce qu’il me semble,
 “ c’est l’inutilité presque certaine de tenter désormais
 “ de pénétrer dans l’intérieur de l’Afrique par des entre-
 “ prises isolées, qui, rencontrant à chaque pas des résis-
 “ tances, doivent presque inévitablement finir aussi mal-
 “ heureusement que celles qui ont été essayées déjà.
 “ Tous les intérêts et tous les préjugés des naturels se
 “ réunissent contre ce genre de tentatives. Au lieu
 “ d’essayer encore cette voie hasardeuse, M. Bowdich
 “ propose de s’avancer graduellement dans l’intérieur
 “ par des liaisons politiques, de traiter progressivement
 “ avec les puissances maîtresses du pays, et d’établir chez
 “ elles des résidens accrédités, ayant de la probité, de
 “ l’honneur, ~~du~~ caractère et de l’instruction. Quels
 “ moyens en effet n’auront pas des hommes ainsi placés,
 “ pour recueillir paisiblement, sans obstacle, et sans
 “ inspirer aucune jalousie, tous les renseignemens utiles
 “ qui peuvent faire connaître ces contrées à l’Europe,
 “ et amener un jour leur civilisation ! Combien leur
 “ position ne sera-t-elle pas préférable à celle de voyageurs
 “ isolés, exposés à la malveillance, au soupçon, au pillage,
 “ et qui, s’ils échappent comme Mungo Park a eu une
 “ fois le bonheur de le faire, ne devront ce hazard qu’à
 “ l’indifférence qu’aura excitée pour eux la profonde
 “ misère dans laquelle ils seront tombés ! Dans ces vues
 “ nobles et généreuses, M. Bowdich demande que ces
 “ résidens près des peuples d’Afrique, deviennent aussi
 “ les correspondans de l’Europe entière : il veut qu’ils

under better auspices, for the benefit of commerce, science, and humanity, I am, at least, disinterested.

I conclude, by repeating, that, to become

“ soient chargés de recueillir les renseignemens de tout
 “ genre qui leur seront demandés par les savans de toutes
 “ les nations : et il espère, non sans vraisemblance, qu’à
 “ l’aide de ce plan, nous aurions dans deux ou trois
 “ années des stations d’observateurs placés aussi loin que
 “ Tombuctoo même.

“ Un semblable projet n’a besoin que d’être énoncé
 “ pour avoir l’approbation de tous les hommes éclairés
 “ de l’Europe. On peut aisément se figurer tout ce que
 “ les sciences naturelles et l’étude de l’antiquité devront
 “ y gagner de découvertes. La physique y pourra enfin
 “ obtenir aussi les observations qui lui manquent pour
 “ compléter les lois de la distribution du magnétisme
 “ terrestre, dont, partout l’intérieur de l’Afrique, on
 “ n’a pas la moindre notion ; elle y trouvera encore des
 “ données météorologiques d’un intérêt extrême.”

Biot, Journal des Savans, Août.

(2) “ When we find Englishmen of rank, of family,
 “ and of fortune, foregoing all the pleasures within their
 “ reach, for a voluntary exile ; exposing themselves
 “ with their eyes open to all the inconveniences and
 “ hardships of painful and perilous journeys, to the
 “ effects of bad climates and pestilential diseases, not
 “ merely out of idle curiosity, but for the sake of seeing
 “ with their own eyes, hearing with their own ears,
 “ and of obtaining that information and receiving those
 “ impressions which books alone can never give, we

intimately acquainted with the interior of Africa, and to tranquillize it, are the first great steps towards commercial intercourse and civilization.

To place residents in situations to mediate between the great contending kingdoms, and to originate commerce, is not only the most humane, the most prudent, and the most economical, but the only legitimate method of acquiring political influence and power.

Assured that benevolence is associated with commerce in the views of the British government in Africa, it is desirable for the happiness of the natives, as well as our own interests, that we should be the first to explore and attach the interior powers; the views of other European settlers on the coast, who would anticipate us, being more selfish, or simply commercial.

If we are anticipated by the Dutch in seeking alliances with the interior kingdoms, the prosperity of the British settlements will not only be sacrificed, but their safety endangered.

“ ought to be proud of this national trait peculiarly
“ characteristic, we believe, of British youth; and so
“ far from visiting their literary omissions with critical
“ severity, we should consider their communications
“ entitled to every indulgence.”

Quarterly Review, October, 1816.

The rivalry of science being a generous one, we should strive, being in possession of the field, to be the most conspicuous in making discoveries, and dissipating the errors respecting the interior of Africa.

The address of residents would daily extend and strengthen the British influence, induce and preserve peace, originate and nurse commercial intercourse, communicate encouraging impressions of the British character to the more distant kingdoms, introduce or improve the arts and habits connected with civilization, and by example and temperate reasoning gradually superinduce a disposition more congenial to humanity, if not to the true religion. Residents would also collect for geographers and naturalists the rare *desiderata* and novelties unattainable by travellers *en passant*, and pave the way for missions to more distant countries; by a chain of which we may not only reach, but establish ourselves on the Niger.

The present grant thus expended, would be productive of benefit to Africa, and of fame, honour, and wealth to Great Britain.*

* See the "*African Committee*," Longman, 1819, p. 18, 19, and 70. Also the "*Mission to Ashantee*," p. 338 to 343, and 453 to 460.